REASONS

For BUILDING of

BARRACKS;

DISINCUMBERING

The INN-KEEPERS and PUBLICANS;

RESTORING

DISCIPLINE to the ARMY;

AND

A right Understanding between the SOLDIERS and the PEOPLE:

With some casual Remarks on the

NATURE, GENIUS, and APTITUDE,

OF A

BRITISH MILITIA.

OPINION *commands every thing.* PAS.

LONDON:
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REASONS

FOR

Building BARRACKS, &c.

THERE is a certain uncertainty in the theory of politics, the result of humour, fancy or faſhion, whim, notion, intereſt or opinion, that makes it extremely difficult to give ſuch a clear and diſtinct light to reaſoning principles, as may bias the reader's mind concluſively, in favour of any new ſcheme, however well eſtabliſhed in rectitude. Current opinion will always have a powerful influence: nor needeth it that men think much, whoſe intellects are inapt, and who

can be favoured with an agreeable hearing, unſubjected to the ſlavery of thought. It would be therefore idle to preſume, that the firſt ſtart of a propoſition ſhould have its due weight. It is ſufficient to the preſent purpoſe, if it introduces the reader into a train of thinking and reflecting on the ſubject, eradicates the ruſt of vulgar conceptions, and brightens his mind into ſome degree of intelligent and reaſoning excellence. If then our Syſtem be right, it will not be amiſs to give it all the plauſible colourings that occur, and leave the reſt for time to mature: the road is narrow and difficult; ſucceſs rather to be wiſhed than expected: and it muſt be eſteemed a bold ſtep in any man, to oppoſe his thoughts to the partial views of many, and the torrent of public opinion. Wherefore, as the ſtep is bold, ſo ought the method to be uncommon, that all may ſeem of a piece: for which reaſon it is, that, to ſet this argument right, I begin at the wrong end; object where others begin to reaſon, and reaſon where others object. Not that I am vain enough to imagine myſelf an

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original in this manner of conducting an argument; for, I find a learned, phyſical, metaphyſical doctor, in his religious enquiries, inſtructs us to commence with the laſt of the *Revelations*, thence turn to the firſt of *Geneſis*, and ſo, *vice verſâ*, until we meet the full ſum and ſubſtance of the caſuiſtry in the center. And, as I think, ſo grave an authority ought not to be deſpiſed, eſpecially when it concurs ſo luckily with my own notions, I hope the reader will not take it amiſs that he has ſome work to go through, before he gets at the main deſign.

OBJECTION I.

BARRACKS have been reaſoned upon, *in opinion*, thus: "If we ſeparate the ſoldiery from the converſation of, or community with, the people, the ſoldiery will become, as it were, a kind of foreigners to the nation; and, therefore, to put them in Barracks, is to ſeparate them from that mutual affection, which the King's ſubjects ought to preſerve to-

" wards one another, and which, at pre-
" ſent, they enjoy by a common corre-
" ſpondence."

If this needed any anſwer, the reply is very plain: Is the converſation of the ſoldiery, at preſent, among the beſt or worſt ſort of the people? If the latter be too true, what injury can poſſibly reſult from their being in Barracks? It ſeeming as whimſical a ſoleciſm, as ever ſimple opinion produced, that men ſhould be made the better ſoldiers, or happier friends to their country, by being quartered in alehouſes and gin-ſhops, where the ſmall pittance they have is uſually expended, in what only tends to intoxicate and enfeeble them; and ſtill leſs, when quartered amongſt thoſe where eternal enmity preſides. But it does not appear, that their being diſpoſed in Barracks will, in any ſenſe, ſeparate them from the community of their fellow-ſubjects, but rather the more endear them to each other, as either will, under good order, be equally free from loſs or inſult; the one more regularly under the diſcipline of their officers, and both, more

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diſtinctly, under the inſpection of the magiſtrate. As it is, they are like an ill-trained militia, ſoldiers, and no ſoldiers: and as their brawls and wrangles are endleſs, with thoſe whom they ſhould live in affection, ſo is the attention of their officers, by an infinity of vexatious diſputes, puzzled into a careleſs flexibility; and the magiſtrate, finding himſelf unable to regulate the common diſorder, becomes unconcerned, perceiving the remedy impracticable.

OBJECTION II.

"The building of Barracks may be the "foundation of a ſtanding army, and a "ſtanding army the ruin of our liberties."

How this objection is to be proved, muſt be only in the power of thoſe who make it; as I cannot apprehend, by what kind of magic ſuch conveniencies can influence the legiſlature to eſtabliſh what ſeems ſo contrary to the nature of our conſtitution: and it is equally inexplicable, how the way of placing men can make any eſſential dif-

difference in their intended uſe and application, except it be dangerous to make the ſoldiery apter for ſervice, better diſciplined, and ſoberer men. There will no one deny, but that it is in the power of the crown to draw them together at pleaſure, to form them into camps, or otherwiſe diſpoſe, as may appear moſt ſuitable to every pregnant emergency: and if ſo, how are they more a ſtanding army, at the command of the ſovereign, or dangerous to our liberties in Barracks, than otherwiſe quartered? I know this may be a foundation for objections, and a very pretty ſubject for the ſpirit of oppoſition to play upon, as LIBERTY is a kind of muſical inſtrument, upon which, men of different imaginations ſtrike out all ſorts of tunes, baſe and treble, concord and diſcord, quavers and crotchets: but, aſk you for a determined idea, and it inſtantly becomes *vox & præterea nihil*, a ſound, and nothing but a ſound. Not that I would hence infer, that liberty has no meaning; it has a great and glorious meaning! but, in the common uſe and application, is a meer fire-bell, that is rung

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to call the people together, and, when they are aſſembled, the Joker, that ſet it a-going, ſtands up and informs them, that where there is ſmoke, there may be fire, and therefore they ought to be upon their guard.

OBJECTION III.

"The next objection to Barracks is, "that the ſoldiers, ſo reſident, are in a "proper ſituation to pillage their fields, "and rob their hen-rooſts."

That ſome of them will do ſo, whether in or out of Barracks, may be very probable, but in which the probability is ſtronger, is another queſtion? It ſhould ſeem to me, that the more nearly they are under their officer's eye, the leſs liable they are to do miſchief. Or, it would be preſuming, what is hardly fair to preſume, that the officers are as careleſs as the men are wicked; that diſcipline is not at all regarded; and then it is immaterial where they are placed, or how diſpoſed. But if it ſhall appear, in the courſe of this little

tract,

tract, that I propoſe their being much better employed, and that ſuch propoſition is the ſenſe of thoſe who are to diſcipline and govern them, it may poſſibly obviate all objections that can be made with any degree of grace, truth or dignity. Cavils, I know, are endleſs, and Oppoſition immortal; but I hope too, that reaſon and common ſenſe will be always invincible, as thoſe only eſtabliſh liberty on its right baſis, and always perceive the difference between idle declamation and ſelf-evident fact.

Theſe objections, all that I am yet aware of, being previouſly ſtated, and, I hope, ſufficiently obviated for the preſent purpoſe; it is neceſſary, in order to give this ſubject a clearer elucidation, to conſider the improper and inconſiſtent ſituation of our troops, as they are now diſpoſed in quarters amongſt the people, or, more properly, upon the people, and upon them only, which pay more to the public revenue, than all the reſt of the nation put together. This ariſes from two preſumptions; the one is, that the publicans

licans have more convenience, acquire more by the folly and neceſſity of others, and that the ſoldiers pay is either too ſmall, or that they cannot be otherwiſe ſo well provided for. Under the head of publicans is uſually underſtood Taverns, Inns, Coffee-houſes, Victuallers, as they are uſually called, and Gin-ſhops, or other places having licences to entertain ſuch as buſineſs, or pleaſure, or idleneſs, cauſes to frequent them.

Inns, diſtinct from the others, are conſtituted upon a principle of utility and neceſſity, and are the common conveniencies whereby the inland trade is carried on, to and from the remoteſt parts of the iſland; without them, or ſuch like, travellers could not be accommodated, nor goods be ſecurely depoſited from the inclemency of the weather, and rapine of thieves. The Inn-keeper, by the common law of the land, is anſwerable for all that enters within his gates, of what value ſoever, though not particularly delivered into his cuſtody, except in caſes where the owners of ſtage-waggons hire of him re-

poſitories for the goods they are entruſted with, as is only cuſtomary in *London*, or where the reſpective owners dwell; otherwiſe, on the road, the inn-keeper is wholly anſwerable: and, as in the ſpaces between the inns, where coaches and waggons ſet up, the maſters of ſuch coaches and waggons are anſwerable for what they carry, ſo is it abſolutely neceſſary that they ſhould, at the end of their ſtages, have a ſafe repoſitory for their goods and for their paſſengers. And ſo it is that travellers, whether in carriages of their own, or on horſeback, or on foot, be lodged in ſecurity. This conſidered, the utility and neceſſity of inns is ſufficiently apparent; and it is as apparent that they are not calculated for luxury, folly, and idleneſs, but purely for utility and neceſſity, and then it will follow, I hope very clearly, that there is not the leaſt pretence for their being particularly burthened; at leaſt it ſhould be conſidered in their favour, that where other means may be provided for the ſame ends, that they ſhould be ſo provided; and then, to give the argument a new turn, ſuppoſe

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they, who object to Barracks, ſhould be quartered upon, as in equal juſtice they ought; would not this probably create in them a different opinion in reſpect to Barracks? And if this be ſo, on what honeſt baſis is their preſent opinion founded? the outcry would then be againſt troops, not againſt Barracks to put them in. To avoid this, is perhaps the true reaſon for quartering upon inns, &c. a ſeeming leſſer evil to play off a greater, but is not really a leſs evil while it is equally diſtant from rectitude. However, to quarter upon private houſes is the fair teſt to try the honeſty of mens ſentiments by, and as that ſtands or falls, the true, the conſiderate, and the genuine ſenſe of the nation will be beſt underſtood.

I do not conſider here, whether ſoldiers or ſtanding armies are right or wrong, neceſſary or unneceſſary, conſonant to, or diſſonant from, the conſtitution; that is another matter of argument: my conſideration only is, that if a military is, under whatever denomination or diſtinction, they

muſt be quartered ſome-where; in camps they cannot be, above one third of the year, in this climate; their being quartered on the inhabitants is evidently a burthen and a grievance, and the more ſo, as one part of the nation is ſingled out to bear all, only becauſe they pay more towards its ſupport than others, and gain leſs by it than many; as all other trades are benefited by the ſoldiery, and even the nobility and gentry eventually, whoſe tenants, when the hardſhip was great enough before, increaſe it, by caſually raiſing the price of hay, corn, ſtraw, and proviſions, when, in equity, the prices of all ought to be lowered. Theſe are conſiderations for men of ſenſe and honour to reflect upon, to wave idle and indigeſted opinions, to lay their hands upon their hearts, and ſay, Is this true, is this juſtice, is this equity, is this equality, what name ſhall we give it? What title? What appellation? Would we be ſo treated ourſelves? or why ſhould we ſo treat others? Do we learn this from religion, or from morality? And one would

would think, in a free ſtate, juſtice ſhould be equal, if we mind nothing elſe.

As concerning the other ſpecies of publicans, eſpecially within the bills of mortality, ſome of them are but merely neceſſary, as batchelors, ſtudents, and ſuch like, muſt eat and drink as well as other people; but as not only what ſuch houſes uſe, or their cuſtomers conſume, pay highly to the revenue, beſides their reſpective licences, it ſeems a little hard that they ſhould pay for their licences ſix times over; and while they are obliging their cuſtomers, and ſerving the revenue, be ſubjected to ſingular difficulties, as very few ſuch houſes of any conſequence but compound with the military at four pounds a year, or thereabouts: which is an alternative ſomewhat preferable to their being peſtered with them. I doubt not but the adminiſtration have a reaſon for this, to which other men are utter ſtrangers, ſo cannot regularly be conſidered, but I am very ſenſible in what light the ſufferers ſee it, they conceive themſelves not eſteemed

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to be of his Majeſty's ſubjects; and, as it is apparent to them, what averſion the miniſtry have to foreigners, except on particular emergencies, they very readily conclude what is the true cauſe of ſo remarkable a diſtinction between them and others. It is perhaps for this reaſon, that they advance the intereſt of one twentieth part of the public debt for their licences only, and of about half a million more within the bills of mortality, as a compliment to their guards. Theſe taxes they diſburſe, diſtinct from other occupations, beſides what they pay more than private families, on the malt, beer, coal, candle, and ſoap duty; in which laſt article, though ſome are well repaid in the conſumption of their chocolate, yet others expend much of the ſame commodity in what they cannot be paid for. Not to add the increaſe, by their means, of the duties on coffee, tea, chocolate, *&c.* and the great improvement of the pipe manufacture, which is all given away; and which, though exempt from duty, the manufacturers eat and drink much for the public good: and many of

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the coffee-houſes expend ten ſhillings a week in ſtamp duties, purely for the inſtruction and amuſement of their cuſtomers.

Such conſiderations as theſe may not occur to every man, and I have thrown them together that all may be ſeen at one view, which, as diſperſed, eaſily eſcape common notoriety.

There are ſome certain hardſhips which the inn-keepers labour under, more important than theſe; they cannot ſhift off ſoldiers for a fee, as within the bills of mortality; they muſt maintain them, at the ſame time that they are made incapable of acquiring the means by which they ſhould be maintained. The landlord is often very happy if he can find a bed for his wife and children; and the remedy left him is only to take down his ſign, and become a bankrupt, while the butcher, baker, brewer, wine-merchant, and farmer ſay, what is all this to us; if he is gone, another will have the cuſtomers, we ſhall be no loſers; and ſo ſays the exciſeman.

But

But if, when ſeverely preſſed, many ſhut up their houſes by conſent, the effect may be ſenſibly felt by them all. The incumbrance here, is worſe than the expence; the latter may be borne, but the former is inevitable deſtruction, though not at any expence, as the baulking of his houſe turns the current of his trade into another channel; and then, if he loſes nothing by the ſoldiers, in point of expence, he loſes his all, by loſing his cuſtomers. There is beſides ſo natural an antipathy in *England* to regular troops, eſpecially amongſt the trading part of the nation, who are the moſt numerous travellers, that they would rather ride ten miles on, then lodge at an inn where ſoldiers are, even though there is room to receive them. There is more reaſon in this than many, at firſt ſight perceive, or apprehend any foundation for. It is in ſome meaſure a defect in the military diſcipline, ſometimes in the officers, as well as in the common ſoldiers. Under his Royal Highneſs this diſcipline has been in ſome meaſure corrected, and, I ſuppoſe, muſt be gradually brought about; for,

for, ſo long as the people have more to fear from thoſe they pay, than from the common enemy, regular troops will be eſteemed a nuiſance. When men know they are to be ſlaves, they will drop the means of acquiſition, induſtry will immediately ceaſe, and thoſe who have eſtates left to provide for, and ſubmit to be commanded by *ſtanding armies* as well as they can; they, who ſupported them before, will become ſoldiers, and ſo the whole weight of the evil fall, where in juſtice it ought, on thoſe, who through miſtaken opinions, have been the true cauſe of it.

In countries where abſolute dominion preſides, and every whimſical edict of the ſovereign is law, one would conceive that will, fancy, or opinion, muſt wholly govern; but this is not always true, as common policy ſometimes dictates equal juſtice; and I have known, in *France*, an officer in the army very ſeverely puniſhed for abuſing a tradeſman. In *England*, it will ſo happen as to a meer tradeſman in

courſe; but an inn-keeper dare not take the remedy, becauſe it may prove to him worſe than the diſeaſe; ridiculous inſolence and private miſchief will enſue; and, in this light, there is no end to their misfortune, unleſs good diſcipline amend it; and how that is to be thoroughly amended without Barracks, or with them, unleſs judiciouſly conſtituted, is not, perhaps, at preſent clear to the apprehenſion of any body.

The guard is, like the government of a ſtate, not ſo much depending on the form, as on the wiſdom and honeſty of thoſe who govern: for, could we depend on thoſe taking place, a ſingle ſovereign and a ſtanding army would be the beſt government in the world; in a ſingle ſovereign, the buſineſs of the ſtate would be ſecret, uniform, and of a piece; right meaſures, once hit upon, would be eternally purſued, and no advantage taken by an enemy of a diſunion in council. A ſtanding army would employ idle people that were not adapted to induſtry; trade

would be protected by arms, and arms encouraged and ſupported by trade; they would be reciprocally uſeful and beneficial to each other; and the ſovereign, the band that faſtened them together, in an immortal union. Such a government as this would much excel any thing that ever *Plato*, *Sidney*, or *Harrington*, imagined or conceived; but, I apprehend, is fully as impracticable as either of theirs. The *French* have made the neareſt approach to the former, and the *Romans* made the beſt figure in the latter, of any ſtates that have ever yet ſubſiſted. But I doubt not, that had the fear of *Britain* been out of the queſtion, the *French* had been as abſolute ſlaves as the *Turks*, and miſ-rule in both, equally prevalent. As to the *Roman* ſtate, it had for a time a ſovereign prince preſiding, who gave it ſpirit and pre-eminence. This prince was named *National Virtue*; and, ſo long as ſuch prince did preſide, that people triumphed. Let thoſe who love ſatire better than I do, tell the reſt.

Hence it ſeems plain, that it is not regular troops, or ſtanding armies, or whatever men pleaſe to call them, that is a real evil, but the conduct or miſgovernment of ſuch troops or armies, that give a bad gloſs to their inſtitution. For, would any man in his ſenſes, who has a comfortable ſupport and family, put himſelf in the way to be ſhot at, when he can have a neceſſitous perſon ſtand in his place for ſix-pence a day? I think a moment's reflection would determine the queſtion. Therefore it ſeems to me, that both the ſoldiery and the people totally miſunderſtand one another; for it is not the ſoldier and the trade that interferes, but the evil conduct of the one, that produces a miſapprehenſion in the other. The ſoldier is only bad by defect of diſcipline, and the tradeſman only thinks amiſs of him becauſe of this bad diſcipline: and if they conclude from any thing but effects, as is moſt generally the caſe, they recur higher, and perhaps not unnaturally ſuppoſe, that

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the ſoldier's conduct is conſequent of the direction he is under, and thence, that ſtanding armies are not ſo much calculated to protect or defend, as to deſtroy the people. As this is the uſual judgment of common underſtandings, who conclude from what is inſtantly apparent, make no allowance for the ill diſpoſition of this or that individual, but throw the odium on all: it ſeems requiſite, that if we are to be protected by arms, ſuch a method ſhould be purſued in the diſcipline of the troops, as may inſpire the people rather with reaſon to love, than cauſe to fear them.

When men reaſon truly, and act rightly, the obligation is mutual between the ſoldiery and the people, or indeed, in favour of the ſoldiery, as their employment is rather a puniſhment for their idleneſs, than a gratification for their ſervices; and then, if they behave well, they make ſatisfaction to their country, for being otherwiſe uſeleſs to it, and conſequently merit much eſteem and reſpect. I mean, not

only

only behaving well as ſoldiers, but as men, by conducting themſelves with ſobriety, diſcretion, and equal behaviour. This being the only means to diveſt people of their preſent prejudices, and make them ſee a regular force, not in the contemptible light it now appears.

When the army can be reduced to a proper diſcipline, the officers made *wiſer*, and the ſoldiers better; when they are inſpired with a true ſenſe of their being dependent on the people, and the people that they are protected by the ſoldiery, it will be no difficult matter to aſſign them quarters; every houſe would receive them with pleaſure, and, according to their reſpective ſtations, they would not only be kindly entertained, but their ſervices gratefully acknowledged. As it is, nothing but abſolute neceſſity gives them any kind of reception; and, every man, looking upon himſelf in danger, calls out very naturally for a national militia. Therefore, if there was no other reaſon, and,

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to quiet the minds of the people, it ſeems beſt that they be quartered in Barracks, as the moſt proper places to reſtore diſcipline, and to bring all ranks and degrees to their *ſenſes*, to prevent the officers *running mad with pride and opinion*, to eaſe the ſubject of a needleſs expence, trouble, and incumbrance, and to keep the ſoldiers out of bawdy-houſes and gin-ſhops. To effectuate which, I ſhall beg leave to preſent thoſe, whom it may concern, with the following PLAN.

THE

THE PLAN.

I lay it down as the baſis, That the building and ſupporting proper and convenient Barracks, for an army of forty thouſand Men, ſhall not coſt more than has been expended on *Weſtminſter-Bridge*:

That a fund for ſuch building and ſupport, may be eaſily and naturally raiſed, perhaps, without any new duty or impoſition whatſoever:

That the Barracks may be ſo placed, as to be near market towns, and yet the troops may, in diverſe columns or diviſions, appear together at any appointed rout, within ſeventy miles of the metropolis, in ſeven days, without being, in ſuch routs, a burthen or incumbrance on the people; whether neceſſary

neceſſary to march through the great or croſs roads.

The PLAN of *building*, for certain Reaſons omitted.

That to each Barrack be allotted a certain ſpace of ground, for the production of vegetables; and one other convenient ſpace for the riding and airing of horſes; and that a proper perſon be employed to manage the ground allotted, and to take care of the houſe:

That the Perſon, who has the care of the Barrack, *&c.* provide the ſoldiers a wholſome dinner; as alſo, hay, ſtraw, and oats, at a ſtipulate price —— *The reaſon of this will be ſeen hereafter:*

That, nearly in the mid-way between each Barrack, be erected a guard-houſe, and a daily patrole aſſigned to protect paſſengers: The ſoldiers, on ſuch patrole, being allowed two-pence a day extra-pay by the county; and,

on taking an highwayman, ſuch further gratuity as may be aſſigned:

That no ſoldier, unleſs on duty, be ſuffered to go out of the Barracks, in any manner, armed:

That one commiſſion-officer of horſe and of foot be always reſident in the Barrack, and anſwerable for the miſbehaviour of thoſe under their command:

That a fund be eſtabliſhed, as well for repairing the Barracks and furniture, as for the building and fitting up the ſame:

That there be a Barrack maſter-general appointed, under whoſe direction all civil matters, reſpecting the ſaid Barracks, be governed:

That, field-officers excepted, no perſon, officer, or ſoldier, be permitted quarters in any publick or private houſe whatſoever,

whatſoever, unleſs ſuch as the Barracks are incapable to contain; then to be quartered, as has been formerly accuſtomed, under the direction of the Magiſtrate.

I am ſenſible, how much the weight of opinion is againſt me; nor ſhould I therefore make a point of building Barracks, could I conceive, that regular troops would not always ſubſiſt, or that they could be any way better, or, in other words, more equitably provided for. I am likewiſe ſenſible what an influence a thought of this kind muſt have on the legiſlature; as alſo, what has been publickly argued on this head. But I alſo know, that, however we may deceive ourſelves with conceits of one day diſbanding the regulars, the odds is very great, that they will, nay, that the number muſt, be enlarged, unleſs we can reduce the views of *France* to an amicable diſpoſition, or dream ourſelves into means of defence without any inherent power. It is not a queſtion here, whether there will, or will not, be more troops; or whe-

ther the preſent number will ſubſiſt, or be for the future neceſſary, or needleſs; but whether, while they continue, they ſhould be properly diſpoſed. The Objection then may be, " That, if they are only caſual or " temporary, the utility will not be a- " dequate to the expence."

It is impoſſible to know what events are hid in the womb of time; nor will any man in common modeſty preſume to ſee further before him, than from what paſt times have preſented, what now is, and thence what probably may be. We have long had an encroaching vindictive neighbour: we have ſeen his influence gradually increaſe, we ſee it ſtill growing upon us: we obſerve our maritime allies droop and decline; and, in that light, we remain ſingle, and on our own bottom. And, though there is no doubt, but that we are able ſingly, and on our own bottom, to repel the power of *France*, and, perhaps, repay their inſolence with intereſt, yet no man in his ſenſes will preſume, that ſuch retalliation is to be made without due means,

nor

nor is it to be perceived how, without ſuch means, we are able to defend ourſelves, truſting, like the Quakers in *Penſylvania*, to ideal ſyſtems; and, becauſe peace is more reaſonable than war, lay aſide all the natural meaſures of juſt defence, and thus reaſon ourſelves into the being deſpiſed. Nor will it make any real difference in the argument, whether our defence aſhore be by regular troops or a national militia; it ſeeming to me very obvious, that, unleſs a national militia be under the ſame diſcipline, and under the like direction, as thoſe now eſteemed regulars, it will be no militia at all; and, if formed in the ſame manner, the difference will only be in the name. The regulars, as now conſtituted, being in fact the temporary militia of the people, as the parliament, by declining to paſs the mutiny bill one ſeſſions, inſtantly diſbands them; and then, while we are aiming to avoid a ſtanding army, by eſtabliſhing a militia, we do not perceive how this militia may become that very ſtanding army we would avoid.

Incidit in Scyllam, cupiens vitare Charybdim.

If

If this were any part of the queſtion, I ſhould think the nation more in danger from ſixty thouſand militia, permanently fixed and eſtabliſhed by law, than from the regulars on the footing they now ſtand, as the arms would be in the hands of the very ſame kind of people, and only better authorized. The arms would then be, where the real power is, in the multitude, and, in whom, as little property veſts, as in the regulars; and, as we know by experience, that it is but here and there, a gallant man of property will expoſe himſelf to the dangers of warfare, ſo muſt our defence at laſt be mainly left to thoſe who have more courage than wealth; and who are, by their courage, to acquire ſubſiſtance. I am afraid, upon the whole, that we deal more in names than things, in vulgar opinion, than fair judgment. But, in either caſe, I ſee not why a juſt and equitable diſpoſition of troops, under whatever denomination they may appear, is not ſuited to rectitude; or why not Barracks better adapted to receive and quarter them, than inns and publick-houſes.

The

The notion of our not wanting any troops, ſome time or other, is abſolutely as ideal as the *Penſylvanian* ſyſtem, it is laying a ſtreſs upon the protection of providence we may be leſs entitled to, than our vain imaginations ſuggeſt; and if we recur to the *Romans* for a primary example, we muſt firſt tutor ourſelves into the ſame impregnable virtue; make the love of our country, and the intereſt of the commonwealth, ſuperior to all partial conſiderations. A CINCINATUS, or a CATO, may not have being in this air; the coolneſs of this climate may not agree with the like kind of conſtitutions.

We have then very little pretence to ſearch for examples amongſt the old *Romans*, when we neither think, reaſon, nor act on any ſuch like principles as they did. Every ſtate muſt act conſonant to itſelf, not ruled or governed by examples that have no relation to the genius and diſpoſition of a people: *Machiavel*'s maxims

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are as ideal here, as *Harrington*'s would be to the Grand Seignior; and, when current maxims are formed, the effects whereof have never yet been experimented, as ſuch are uſually conſequent of opinion, they rarely take place to advantage; many have been attempted to no other purpoſe, than to find reaſon to return at laſt into the old channel. Political, as well as religious enthuſiaſts, are extremely deſirous of forming an intereſt in the breaſts of the weak and undiſcerning; and, while they occaſionally carry all before them, like a torrent, the wiſe man ſees at a diſtance the ridiculous concluſion.

The great concern of a ſtate, therefore, is the acting juſtly on the principles by which that ſtate has moſt generally, and, with the beſt grace and character, been ſupported. The ſoul of a *Britiſh* conſtitution is equality, I do not mean in eſtates or underſtanding, for that is impoſſible; but in reſpect to taxes, ſervices, burthens, incumbrances, and ſuch like: when this is de-

deviated from, the injured have a right to complain; equal juſtice once exploded, an opening is made to ſap the fundamentals of government. None knows where a miſtaken notion will conclude; what, at firſt, was merely a temporary convenience, time and particular circumſtances matures into error, and this, by degrees, improves into ſomething more than an inconvenience. What is abſolutely neceſſary, is right, ſo long as that abſolute neceſſity continues, as is commonly conſequent of ſudden marches. It is no injury, where the reaſon, ſafety, and neceſſity of the ſtate requires it, to lodge the troops caſually in any houſe, public or private; but it is an eſſential difference, when the nature of our affairs ſhall make the quartering of troops permanent, then it commands our attention, and induces us to enquire, what is the moſt plain and obvious remedy. For, under whatever denomination our armed force for the future may be, regular troops, militia, ſtanding armies, or all three united, it is certain that they muſt be provided for,

conſtantly and occaſionally. The deſire of having a militia, intimates the neceſſity of ſome kind of troops, and that in larger numbers than at preſent. We know the power of our adverſary ſufficiently to make ſuch neceſſity obvious, and thence conclude, what the nature of our defence requires; and therefore, while we cannot help being convinced, that our ultimate reſource is in a number of diſciplined men, we cannot avoid the neceſſity of providing for them, in winter, as in ſummer. Nor can we, at the ſame time, think it juſt, that they ſhould be burthenſome to any diſtinct part of the inhabitants, but, as they are the guard, ſo ſhould they be equally the care of all: and, as no man would chuſe to have troops quartered upon himſelf, he concludes it improper to have them quartered on any body, or he concludes very diſhoneſtly. It has been ſaid before, that they cannot be encamped above four months in the year: in their ſtation, they cannot have habitations of their own; the quartering upon particulars is unjuſt, and,

upon

upon all, the utter averſion of all. It then only remains to conſider, what diſpoſition can poſſibly be made, where neceſſity and equal juſtice unite, to give it rectitude and propriety. My conception is, that it can only center in BARRACKS; but, as other lights may from hence reſult, I ſhall leave it to the conſideration of more enlightened, more deep, and more refined ſchemers.

If none happen to hit upon a better or more proper diſpoſition, there will be many apt to object, that if a national militia takes place, there will not be occaſion either for houſe-quarters or Barracks. I am too ſenſible what men think, who are neither reaſoners nor ſoldiers: they would have a militia to get rid of the regular troops, but they would not have this militia any militia at all; they would only have it to be the ghoſt or phantom of a militia. Men made ſoldiers, by being exerciſed thirty-five times a year: this, they ſuppoſe, will teach them to live hard, to lie hard, to paſs through all the requiſite evolutions, with dexterity and correctneſs;

to keep their ground, to ſtand fire, to attack, retreat, rally; and, what is more general, to punctually obey command. In this thirty-five days, ſome of them may learn to handle their arms, if they have not too many wet *Sundays*; as to the reſt, they are to be acquired by inſpiration, experience, and a long courſe of danger: the acquiſition of intrepidity, by a habit of ſeeing multitudes fall with unconcern; coolneſs, conſequent of practice, and a few other particulars, that may hurt theſe ideal projectors in reciting, are not to be any of the requiſite qualities of either the officers or ſoldiers, in this excellently conſtituted militia. I verily believe that, for ſuch a militia, there will not be any need for either quarters or *Barracks*; and therefore, if this end ſhould be obtained, I confeſs all my reaſoning fruitleſs; on the other ſide, muſt again inſiſt, that if a militia ſhall be made in any reſpect uſeful, it will become, to all intents and purpoſes, a ſtanding army, and then the diſpoſition of them in quarters is in exactly the ſame light as before.

As

As to the reaſoning about what militias have done, is equally well founded; the moſt remarkable inſtances were in the great rebellion: theſe were militia againſt militia, enthuſiaſts againſt ranters; the ſpirit made the former conquerors, and practice made them at laſt invincible: you might as well have thought of removing a mountain, as forcing theſe men an inch from the ſtation conſigned; if an evolution was neceſſary, it was done in ſpiritual order, and, when it was proper to attack, they fell on like furies. Six thouſand of theſe men, under *Morgan*, beat the whole *Spaniſh* army before *Dunkirk*, while Marſhal *Turenne*, who ſhould have ſupported the *Engliſh*, only gazed with aſtoniſhment. If we are wiſe enough to think we could form ſuch a militia, with thirty-five *Sundays* domeſtic exerciſe, it would be a happy ſcheme indeed; but I hope we are not dealing in dreams, our ſituation at preſent requires other reflections; war is become a pretty regular and

correct

correct ſcience; and, as to what has been ſaid, in reſpect to the wonderful performances of the *Highland* irregulars, it merits not a ſober anſwer; the conſequence proved them nothing, and evinced, at the ſame time, the reaſon of their caſual ſucceſs. To leave then ſuch chimeras to thoſe who are ſubject to their giddy influence, I ſhall conclude my thoughts on this head, with ſome neceſſary remarks and illuſtrations on the preceding plan.

The building of Barracks for forty-thouſand men, is not intended to conclude that ſo many will be abſolutely neceſſary at all times; nor is it proper to propoſe here, how the ſupply may be raiſed for that purpoſe, as it is a ſecondary conſideration, and time enough to bring in queſtion when the firſt is agreed to.

As to the placing of the Barracks, the manner of doing it is obvious to every geographical eye, and therefore needs not any explanation, as ſuch would preſume

perſons

perſons of high abilities and diſtinction, unacquainted with the face of their own country, or incapable of marking proper ſituations off from the ſurvey map.

The plan of building is equally to be avoided, conſidering the great genius's this age has produced, and that there is a conſtituted *Board of Works*, capable of very eminent and ſingular deſigns; but it may not be amiſs to remark, that, where there are waſtes equally convenient, no man's cultivated property ſhould be diſſevered.

That ſome ſpare ground ſhould be allotted, ſeems to me abſolutely neceſſary, at leaſt extremely convenient, for the exerciſe of both horſe and foot, for their diverſion, as well as under arms; as I need not ſay, that exerciſe gives ſtrength to the nerves, and vigour to the limbs: where, on holidays, the country people may intermix with the ſoldiers, and paſs together a friendly hour. And as it may

be

be done at a very eaſy expence, a vegetable garden would contribute eſſentially to the health and welfare of the ſoldiers; and, I ſhould think, would be agreeable to the officers.

That the troops are provided a wholeſome dinner, ſeems to me of more importance than it may, at firſt ſight, appear to many; but I infer this from a certain knowlege of their uſual conduct; and others, I doubt not, have heard, that the care of being ſuſtained with proper food is not always the firſt conſideration of a common ſoldier; yet are there few but will agree with me, that it ought not to be the laſt. It will likewiſe contribute to good order, and may be undertaken much to their advantage. And, as to the providing of the horſe, *&c.* hay, ſtraw, and oats, it would be inconvenient to provide for themſelves; and, under their officers eye and inſpection, I conceive muſt be beſt to have a ſtock at a right price always at command, more eſpecially as it may reſpect caſual removes from one Barrack to another, and proper proviſion always in ſtore.

There

There is one complaint, in reſpect to the ſoldiery, which has never yet been obviated; it is that, in time of peace, the troops are not of any public utility; nor any way employed even to their own benefit. This occaſioned my propoſing in the plan, that they ſhould patrole the roads; and ſeems to be an honorable and beneficial employment for them; and will evince, that troops, properly ordered, may be of public utility in peace, as in war.

It ſeems to me equally juſt, that, except on duty, no ſoldier ſhould be permitted, with or without leave, travelling far, or only ſtraying near, to be in any reſpect armed: it is ſufficient that they are armed on duty. In wandering about they may do miſchief, plunder and murder their fellow-ſubjects; and, inſtead of protecting paſſengers, make the roads dangerous to travel.

Therefore, evidently neceſſary, that one commiſſion-officer at leaſt always reſide in

the Barracks, who may be anſwerable for the order, good conduct, and diſcipline of the ſoldiery, as thereon will materially depend the union and friendſhip that is requiſite to ſubſiſt between the army and the people; and will, with an annual mutiny bill, conſtitute ſuch kind of troops, to all intents and purpoſes a national militia.

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